1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

rumors, and are easily convinced that others nourish bad intentions toward them. The most serious recent conflict occurred in 1914 (194, pp. 141-149); the natives, encouraged by an old woman named Angata, killed a great many animals and claimed possession of the cattle and land. The uprising was provoked by the action of a white man, but Angata kindled the animosity of the natives by dreams in which God supposedly revealed His will to her. Sure of divine protection, they became very daring. The agitation finally subsided, as such things usually do among the natives who indulge in novelties and soon grow tired of them. There have been more recent disturbances, but none so grave as that witnessed by Routledge. However, since the natives are constantly incited against the company, it is probable that trouble will again arise.

The most interesting aspect of the culture of present-day natives is their very sincere and deep attachment to the Catholic church, though the missionaries did not stay long on the island. The last pagans were baptized only two years before the destruction of the mission. After the departure of the missionaries, the island was without a priest for 16 years. In 1886 Father Hippolyte Roussel returned to the island for 6 months. He was accompanied by Father Albert Montiton. Later, several priests visited the island but stayed only a short time. Recently some Chilean priests have remained longer, among them Father Bienvenido Estella, who has written an account of his experience in Easter Island (80). However, for various reasons, no priest resides there permanently and rites are performed by a catechist of Mangarevan origin. Every day the natives gather in the church to make their prayers together; on Sunday they celebrate a kind of mass, and four times a week they spiritually associate themselves with the masses celebrated throughout the world. The hymns taught by the French missionaries are still sung in the church and the tradition is kept alive by a singing school, presided over by women whose mothers had received the teachings of missionaries. The grip of Christianity has been so strong that very few pagan beliefs or practices have survived. The fear of ghosts and the importance given to prayers are the only traces of primitive religion.

METEOROLOGY

Nights of the Moon

The old Polynesian system of counting time by lunar months in which each night had an individual name was abandoned by the natives when they became Christians. The new faith could not be adapted without the Roman calendar upon which are based all the feasts prescribed by the Catholic Church. The natives are so scrupulous in observance of these holy days that it is not surprising that the European calendar has entirely superseded the primitive system of reckoning time. The old life was so deeply transformed by contact

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

with the new civilization that importance was no longer given to the phases of the moon as a guide for fishing and planting.

The confusion in the list of the nights of the moon is due to the decadence of native life after 1864. Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 234), one of the first missionaries on the island, says that the natives had difficulty in correlating the lunar month with the solar year and that bitter quarrels arose on that account, even after the coming of the Europeans. Only a few names of nights of the moon are still remembered. They are used as descriptive terms for phases of the moon and not as part of a system. Thomson (215, p. 546) obtained from Salmon, in 1886, a list of nights of the moon. Some confusion and errors have crept into this list and some names are lacking.

The Easter Islanders divided the lunar month into two halves; the first half ended with the full moon on the 15th or 17th night, and the second half ended with the waning moon. The following list of names is based on Thomson's list (215, p. 546), revised in spelling and sequence by Dr. P. H. Buck so as to correspond with other Polynesian systems. Names in parentheses are forms printed in Thomson's account. The prefix *o* was undoubtedly added before some names by the Tahitian, Salmon.

Nights of the Moon

1. Tireo	11. Maharu	21. Kokore toru
2. Hiro	12. Hua (Ohua)	22. Kokore ha
3. Ata (Oata)	13. Atua (Otua)	23. Kokore rima
4. Ari (Oari)	14. Hotu (Ohotu)	24. Tapume
5. Kokore tahi	15. Maure	25. Matua
6. Kokore rua	16. Ina-ira	26. Rongo (Orongo)
7. Kokore toru	17. Rakau	27. Rongo Tane (Orongo Taane)
8. Kokore ha	18. Motohi	28. Mauri-nui
9. Kokore rima	19. Kokore tahi	29. Mauri-kero
10. Kokore ono	20. Kokore rua	30. Mutu (Omutu)

Thomson's list ends with Tueo (misspelling for Tiero), Oata, and Oari, which in other parts of Polynesia are names for the first nights of the moon. Thomson's list omits Hiro (2d night) which was given to me as the name for a new crescent moon. By transposing the names Tiero, Ari, and Ata, and inserting Hiro, the Easter Island list is brought into conformity with those of New Zealand, Tahiti, Cook Islands, and Tongareva, and the number of named nights is brought up to 30 as required by the lunar month which has 29.5 days.

Compared with nights of the moon in other parts of Polynesia, the Easter Island list presents some abnormalities that may be due to confusion or to the informant's lack of knowledge. Thus Ari is given as the 4th night in the Easter Island list; elsewhere it is the 10th (Cook, Tuamotu, Marquesas, New Zealand), the 11th (New Zealand, Tongareva, Tahiti), or the 9th (Manihiki). The Kokore series occurs everywhere except New Zealand and Tongareva. In the first half of the lunar month there are six Kokore nights; the number usually varies from two to four (Hawaii, Mangareva). These extra Kokore in Easter

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Island may have been used to fill gaps, but it is impossible to say whether they were introduced in pre-European time or by Salmon's informant. The names of the middle period (10th to 17th nights) are usually single names, and their sequence is consistent throughout Polynesia. Easter Island is no exception to this rule, but Ari has been shifted, and Huna, the 11th or 12th night in other islands, has been dropped. Maitu, which is restricted to central Polynesia, and Marangi, usually the 16th night, do not appear in the lists of New Zealand or Easter Island. On Easter Island, Marangi is replaced by Ina-ira, which is a form without equivalent in Polynesia and may be a misprint. Maure, 15th night in Easter Island, is 16th night in New Zealand and 17th night in Mangareva.

The general Polynesian pattern for the last thirteen nights of the moon consists of three groups of three names and ends with four individual nights (28, p. 410). At one time Easter Island may have had the same sequence. The original regularity of this last period has been broken also in the Marquesas, Mangareva, and New Zealand. These discrepancies are to be attributed either to defective recording or to local innovations. In the Easter Island list Rakau is the name for the 17th instead of the 18th night, but is followed in correct sequence by Motohi (Motahi). Buck believes that the five Kokore, which follow in succession, never functioned in the pre-European culture of the island. They were probably added to replace forgotten names. Tapume and Matua (24-25) have no parallel elsewhere. Mauri was divided into Mauri-nui and Mauri-kero. Mauri-kero is found in the Marquesas and Tuamotus (28, p. 410). This list ends with Mutu, as in all other places except the Tuamotus, Marquesas, and Mangareva.

Months

In recent times the names for the lunar months have been made equivalent to those of the Gregorian calendar. Formerly the natives recognized the difference between the two systems, and some lunar months in Thomson's list (215, p. 546) extend over two calendar months.

The following list is based on my own documents. The equivalents in parentheses are those given by Thomson.

Tuuaharo: January (February)
Hehe-tuupu: February (Te tuupu, March)
Tarahau: March (April)
Vaitu-nui: April (May, big winter)
Vaitu-poto: May (June, short winter)
Te Maro: June (July)
Anakena: July (August)
Hora-iti: August (September, little summer)
Hora-nui: September (October, big summer)
Tangaroa-uri: October (part of November)
Ruti: November (December and January)
Koro: December (January)

A list collected by Martinez (151) agrees exactly with mine except that Koro is given for January and the succeeding names are shifted ahead one month. Thomson's list, recorded at an early date, expresses the uncertainty felt by the natives in making their lunar months correspond with the European calendar. However, this overlapping is indicated only for the summer months when Thomson was on the island. The other names are given as equivalent to European calendar months. Roussel (190) gives the following equivalents: October and November (Ora-nui), December and January (Ora), March

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

192 (Hora-nui), April (Hora), June (Maro), July (Anakena). He was unable
805 to obtain other names.

According to Thomson (215, p. 546) and present natives, Anakena was the first month of the year. Thomson translates Anakena as August and suggests that the year began at that time because Hotu-matua landed at Anakena in that month, but my informants and Roussel (190) give Anakena as July. The fact that the ancient year commenced with July is very significant. The Maori dated the commencement of the year by the first moon after the rising of the Pleiades, which occurs in June in the southern hemisphere. The first two months of the year in Mangareva also seem to have been June and July and had some connection with the rising of the Pleiades (Matariki). (See 28, p. 413.)

Ora or Hora seems to have been the name of the warm season during trade winds (*ora*: zephyr, light wind). The trade winds become more regular in November and reach maximum regularity in February. The word *ora* cannot account for Hora-iti and Hora-nui, the terms given for August and September which are cold winter months. The name Hora-nui, given by Roussel to March, is possibly due to confusion. The term for winter is Tonga (Southern Wind).

Sun and Stars

Common expressions are *ka hiti te raa* and *ngaro raa* or *raa topa* (the sun is rising or setting). Dawn is termed *huero*, which is probably a modern word; according to my informant, the old term was *uraura*, which also applied to the color of the sky at sunset. Other terms for periods of the day (*raa*) are: morning (*popohanga*), early morning about 3 a.m. (*te ao popohanga*), dawn (*te he mai te ata*), sunrise (*he otea, kumaehaa*), noon (*raa tini, raa too*), evening (*ahiahi*), night (*po*). The expression for yesterday is *angataiahi*; for the day before yesterday, *angatai-ahi atu* or *angatai-ahi era*. Tomorrow is *apo* and the day after tomorrow is *apo-era*.

192 The sun or moon in eclipse is *ku kai a te raa* or *ku kai a te mahina* (the
821 sun being eaten, the moon being eaten). Present natives do not remember who eats the moon or the sun. Tepano suggested that it was the demon Katiki or Puakatiki but did not seem sure of it. He suggested also that the moon could be devoured by the sun.

Stars are termed *hetuu*; very luminous ones, *hetuu pupura*. Falling stars are *hetuu rere*; comets, *hetuu huero* or *hucro*.

821 Near ahu Okahu on the west coast there is a small cave called Ana-ui-
192 hetuu (The-cave-where-stars-were-seen). According to tradition this place
787 was an observatory where priests watched the stars and a school where candidates for priesthood were instructed in the science of the stars. The principal duty of these priests was to put people on guard against the evil influence of

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

792 688 [551 805]

sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis for a convenient system of chronology.

792 554 643 661

All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selection of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Make-make as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

792 661

Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

792 173

The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men; probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Mata-toa, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "iviatua," a divinely-gifted individual, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man or "tangata manu"; it was also ordained that he should then take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; and if not used by the original nominee it might descend to his son or grandson; one case was mentioned where a young man who was victorious passed on the honours to an older relative. If a man did not win he might try again or "say that the iviatua was a liar" and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the iviatua might be male or female and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four gods, or "atua," connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-take-take, called "chief of the eggs," and Make-make, who were male deities; also Vié Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vié Kenatea, who were females; each of these four had a servant whose names were given and who were also supernatural beings. Two iviatua "called themselves after Hawa and Make-make" respectively, but this seems to have been exceptional. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake. The actual competitors were men of importance and spent their time with the rest of the Ao at the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

always hidden in a hole; it might be thrown into the sea or kept and buried with the bird-man. The place of residence for the taboo period was also subject to variation. Orohié was mentioned with pre-eminence, but there were other bird-houses on the Raraku slope and one on the adjoining ahu of Tongariki, some used more particularly when there was more than one bird-man; it transpired also that it was permissible for a man to remain in his own place though he could not stay in his own dwelling; in most of the larger settlements, which would be those with important image ahus, there was a house specially appointed for the residence of the local bird-man should he so elect, but this may have been a later development. The bird-men of the Western clans had a special Mecca in Anakena on the north coast, where the annual inspection of the tablets took place, and an adjoining spot; they went there in all the cases which could be quoted, with the exception of two or three who took up their abode at Raraku, but it was said by three authorities that these places were only resorted to when there was war between the clans and the western men dared not venture into the eastern territory of Orohié. It is a tempting surmise that the quarries and statues inside the Raraku crater, which is entered by a road from the west, may have been associated originally with the Western clans, and those outside the mountain with the Eastern. If so it is not improbable that, owing to internicine war, the work in the crater was suspended first, which would account for the much smaller number of completed statues found inside the crater.[1]

The last year which the Ao went to Orongo, which is known as "Rokunga," appears to have been 1866 or 1867. The names of twelve subsequent years are given during

[1] Thirty statues have been erected inside the crater against some fifty-five outside, exclusive of those around the base, which appear to have formed the approach.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

which the competition for the egg continued and it was still taken to be interred at Raraku. The cult thus survived in a mutilated form the conversion of the island to Christianity, which was completed in 1868, and even the assembly of the remains of the clans into one place which took place about the same time; but it was finally crushed by the secular exploiters of the island, whose house is built at Mataveri with the foundation stones of the cannibal habitations. The request to be given the names of as many bird years as could be remembered met with an almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases. Chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to Rokunga, and in each case, in addition to the bird-name, the winner's own name was obtained as well as his clan and his family or sub-division; the hopu's name was also ascertained and his clan and subdivision. This list, though it doubtless is not complete, stood reasonably well the test of re-examination and extraneous evidence. Further back, though there is every reason to suppose that the year names given are authentic, the clans and other data supplied were not so reliable. The names of the iviatua who prophesied the event have not survived in the same manner.[1]

Legend relates that the manu-tara were not originally on Motu Nui. They lived, it is said, at one time, on a rock off the east end of the island, but every one came and ate them, so Hawa and Maké-maké sent them to a place on the mainland on the south coast, but still every one ate them; then they went up to the top of Rano Kao on the opposite side of the crater from Orongo and here was held the first festival; finally the birds went to Motu Nui.

[1] This folk-memory for bird chronicles is in curious contrast with the impossibility experienced in obtaining any satisfactory list of the "ariki" or chiefs, though they are said to have been only thirty in number.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of whom Viriamo was one. The group of houses at the end among the carved rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu Iti, the eastern to those from Kotuu. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." They came at the command of Ngaara, but it is noteworthy that he himself never appeared at Orongo, though he sometimes paid a friendly call at Mataveri.

A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-rongo-manu," or "listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Ao, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "ivi-atua," a divinely gifted individual, of the kind who had the gift of prophecy, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man, or "tangata-manu." The victor, on being successful, was ordered to take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson. If a man did not win, he might try again, or say that "the ivi-atua was a liar," and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the ivi-atua might be male or female, and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four "gods" connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-také-také, who was "chief of the eggs," and Maké-maké, both of whom were males; there were also two females, Vie Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vie Kenatea. Each of these four had a servant, whose names were given, and who were also supernatural beings. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake.

The actual competitors were men of importance, and spent their time with the remainder of the Ao in the stone houses of the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below. These men, who were known as